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ABSTRACT

This study examines the attitudes which black high school students hold toward other blacks when they speak standard English and when they speak black English. Tenth-grade black students listened to recordings of black speakers, each using both standard English and black English for the same text. The students were asked to judge the speakers on several personality characteristics, such as friendly, honest, unselfish, intelligent, good looking, lucky, etc. The statistical results provide a measurement of attitudes that the students ho d toward the dialects used in the test. According to the results, there is an overwhelming preference for speakers of standard English. The context of the experiment must be considered along with the results, and reasons for the results should be questioned. Black students and teachers need to be taught what linguists have discovered--that black English is a valid and systematic language and that it is an imminently suitable medium of expression.
(Author/VM)

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BLACK HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS EVALUATIONS OF BLACK SPEAKERS

Anne Hensley

The purpose of this study was to examine the attitudes which Black high school students hold towards other Black persons when they speak Standard English (SE) and when they speak Black English, i.e., non-standard Negro English (NNE). The basic assumptions are that there exists something that can be called attitude and that it can be measured.

Attitude Measurement

What is attitude? Wallace Lambert, whose studies were used as a pattern for this one, makes no attempt to answer this question with a definition. Instead, he measures something and then calls what he has measured attitude. Many social psychologists have concerned themselves with measuring attitude and two principal kinds of definitions have evolved. Thurstone (1946) gives the cognitive definition: Attitude is the intensity of positive or negative affect for or against a psychological object--any symbol, person, phrase, slogan or idea toward which people can differ as regard positive or negative affect. The cognitive definition is more typical, according to Kiesler, Collins and Miller (1969) than the behavioristic definition. Campbell (1950), representing the

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behaviorists, says that social attitude is consistency in response to a social object.

Kiesler, Collins and Miller say that the concept of attitude in social psychology has been influenced by measurement techniques. The techniques used to measure attitude have most commonly been pencil and paper instruments, have stressed self reporting and do, in fact, measure intensity of positive or negative affect for a psychological object.

They give a survey of the kinds of measures that have been developed. I will briefly describe four measures that use opinion statements and one which does not, as reported by Kiesler, et al.

Thurstone's device, called the psychophysical model, requires that a subject group of judges place attitude statements along a continuum and then asks another group of subjects whether they agree or disagree with the statements. Similar to Thurston's model is Likert's method of summated ratings. However, Likert's model does not require judges to sort attitude statements before they are given to the subjects, nor does it ask subjects to agree or disagree but rather asks them to indicate the degree of their agreement with statements on a five-point scale.

The Guttman scalogram analysis is based upon successive hurdles, the notion that once a person has overcome a difficult hurdle he should be able to overcome all simpler ones. A classic example of the Guttman type scale is the Bogardus social distance scale in which subjects are asked to mark the classifications to which they would admit members of a particular race. The classifications are such

things as to his family by marriage, to his street as neighbors. The assumption is that if a subject would admit a person to his family, he would predictably admit the person to all the other classifications lower on the scale.

Coombs used the unfolding technique in which a subject is asked to indicate which item best represents his position, next closest to his position and so on to the most discrepant item.

A self-report method not dependent upon opinion statements is the semantic differential described by Osgood (1967). The subject is asked to judge an attitudinal concept (such as Mexicans, modern art) using a series of bipolar scales (e.g., good - bad, strong - weak). The scales are traditionally separated by seven intervals which the subject uses to indicate his evaluation. Lambert's model and this study use a modified semantic differential. Here the attitudinal concept is represented by tape-recorded voices and the bipolar scales are separated by six intervals.

The Matched Guise

Over the past twelve years a technique for measuring in an indirect fashion the views one group of people have for themselves and for another contrasting group has been developed at McGill University by Lambert. He refers to it as matched guise because, until 1968, the heart of the technique was the use of taped voices of bilingual or bidialectal persons speaking first one language or dialect and then the other, i.e., in two guises. Judges react to the two guises of one speaker as though they were separate speakers. The technique has been used to compare the reactions of judges listening to two guises

of bilingual speakers in contrasting languages, contrasting dialects, and contrasting accents.

More specifically, the judges whose views are to be elicited are told that the purpose of the experiment is to see how well they can evaluate personality on the basis of voice characteristics alone. Thus the real purpose is hidden. The "cover story" is given credibility by comparing the task to guessing what the person speaking on the telephone or radio is like. The judges are told that two languages are used to make the task more interesting. The rating sheets used by the judges have several pairs of adjectives in a bipolar arrangement separated by six, seven, or eight blanks (hence, in semantic differential form):

kind ____:____:____:____:____:____ cruel

The judges learn the task by evaluating one or two practice speakers. Then they evaluate the speakers who all read the same neutral passage, each speaker in his two guises, which are maximally separated on the recording. The responses to the speakers in one guise are compared to those for the other guise. Lambert has found this technique effective in measuring group biases in making such evaluative reactions (Lambert, 1966).

The technique has been used with contrasting language groups, first with French and English residents of Quebec (Lambert, et al, 1960). English-speaking judges rated English guises more favorably and French judges also had more favorable reactions to the English guises. The reactions of French Canadians to French and English voices were studied further in 1964 (Anisfeld and Lambert, 1964).

It was found that ten-year-old children reacted to French more favorably than to English, contrary to the earlier findings for their elders. But bilingual children rated the two sets of voices as more similar than did monolingual children. In an attempt to fix the age at which attitude change takes place, French-Canadian girls, ages ranging from nine to eighteen, were studied (Lambert, Frankel and Tucker, 1966). The socio-economic status variable was added by including students from upper middle class homes attending private schools as well as students from public schools. Definite preferences for English Canadian guises appeared at age twelve. However, public school children were less biased in their preference than private school children. Bilingual children in private schools were more extreme than their monolingual counterparts in prefering English Canadian guises. Bilingual public school children showed slight bias.

The views of Jewish and Arabic high school students in Israel were studied in 1965 (Lambert, et al, 1965). In this case contrasting languages, Hebrew and Arabic were used. In addition, contrasting dialects, Ashkenazic (modern Hebrew spoken in Israel by Jews of European descent) and Yemenite dialects of Hebrew, were evaluated by Jewish subjects. Jews and Arabs were found to hold mutually negative views of each other. The Jewish subjects of European parentage picked the Ashkenazic dialect as having more favorable traits. Jewish subjects were also given three more direct, standard attitude measures. The correlation between the matched guise and standard measures was low. Lambert attributes the low correlation to the capability of the matched-guise technique for getting at more "private" and "uncensored"

attitudes.

Most recently contrasting dialects have been studied (Tucker and Lambert, 1969) by obtaining reactions to six American English dialects (Network, Educated White Southern, Educated Negro Southern, Mississippi Peer [similar to the dialect used by most students at the Negro college where testing took place], Howard University and New York Alumni [spoken by alumni of the college who had lived in New York City for several years]). The subjects were three groups of college students, one northern white, one southern white, and one southern Black. In this case the speakers were not bidialectal. All three groups of judges perceived the Network speakers as having the most favorable characteristics. The choice of least favored group varied depending upon the judges. Southern Black judges downgraded Educated White Southern speakers, while white judges, both northern and southern, rated Mississippi Peer speakers least favorably. An interesting finding was that the subjects were able to reliably differentiate the dialect groups.

The matched-guise technique has successfully been used in many different contexts to get at the views one group of people have for themselves and for another contrasting group. The spoken languages of the groups are the symbols to which the subjects react. Thus the technique appeared to be the most suitable tool for answering the question: "What attitudes do Black high school students hold towards other Black persons when they speak SE and NNE?"

THE PROBLEM

That language is inextricably bound to self-identity is the view of Frantz Fanon, who says of the Antilles Negro that he "will be proportionately white--that is, he will come closer to being a real human being--in direct ratio to his mastery of the French language." (Fanon, 1952) Fanon goes on to say that this description includes every colonized man, "every people in whose soul an inferiority complex has been created by the death and burial of its local cultural originality."

A basic conflict in American life today is whether this country is going to be pluralistic, valuing the culture and languages of its minority groups, or monolithic, supressing and degrading the culture and languages of the minority groups. The evidence so far seems to point toward the monolithic society (Fishman, 1966). Teachers of English to dialect speakers and non-English-speaking groups are involved in the conflict by being vehicles for transmitting the dominant language and culture to the colonized minority groups.

The feelings of our students for our language and their own becomes a matter of crucial importance. As stated earlier, this study is concerned with the reactions of Black high school students to NNE and SE. If they exhibit preference for persons speaking NNE, then they will not fit into Fanon's paradigm which says that to be a real human, i.e., white, one must speak SE. However, if SE speakers are prefered, the conclusion might be drawn that the students do indeed fit the pattern for colonized people. But considering the nature of the instrument used and the complexity of the concepts being measured,

both interpretations seem dramatic. Hopefully then the study reveals information about the students and their feelings for language that can be used in helping them become effective and healthy members of our society and of a minority group vital to American life.

THE EXPERIMENT

METHOD

Subjects. The subjects were all tenth graders at a South Los Angeles County High School. Eight English classes were tested. The classes contained thirty-eight Mexican-American students, 120 Black students, and fourteen Caucasian students. Only the data on the Black students was analysed for this experiment. In order to have equal subject group size, it was necessary to limit the analysis to thirty-eight male students and an equal number of female students. The Experimenter had observed six of the classes earlier in the year in connection with another project. Her observation of the students' language led her to conclude that NNE is the prevalent form but with considerable variation toward SE (Harris, 1970).

Materials. Tape recordings were made of four black adult bidialectal speakers (two men and two women) in both NNE and SE guises. Each speaker was given a short passage of neutral emotional value about football (see Materials Appendix). They were asked to say the passage in SE and then to say it in NNE. The speakers themselves were the first to judge which was NNE and which SE. Other judges, familiar with NNE from a linguistic view, concurred with their evaluations.

The rating scale provided the students for evaluating the

speakers was developed using a sample group of students from the same high school. The principal investigator, a caucasian female, asked the students to complete a form (see Materials Appendix). The fo· included questions asking what they like about people they really like, and what makes a man or a woman successful. In addition, it contained a sample of words from Lambert's studies for which they were to give word associations and finally it asked them to rank, in order of importance, five items for friendship and five for success, all from Lambert's list. Responses were tallied and the most frequent words were chosen for the final list of fourteen traits, ten pertaining to friendship and four to success. Though the information would be valuable, no attempt was made to define the meaning the traits have for the students.

The words were then arranged in semantic differential form, in bipolar pairs of a negative and positive attribute, separated by a six-point scale. On each rating sheet, positive attributes were randomly assigned to the right and left sides of the scale. In addition, the traits were presented in a different order on each of the seven rating sheets.

Procedure. Testing was carried out in the regular classrooms by a female black experimenter who spoke an informal standard English. Each group heard only three of the four speakers because pretesting revealed that tapes containing four speakers were too long. Because of the complexity of the design only the responses for the two speakers of the same sex for a given subject were used in the analysis.

After the subjects were told that all speakers were Black, they

were asked to listen to the voices on the tape and to evaluate each speaker using the rating sheet. A separate rating sheet was used for each speaker and for the practice speaker. The students learned the task by listening to the practice voice, a black male saying the neutral passage in Standard English, and rating it. After answering questions, the experimenter began formal testing. Each speaker's passage was played once with one-minute intervals between passages.

RESULTS

The mean socres for the raw data are presented in Table 1. In only four cases do NNE speakers have higher ratings than SE speakers. Whether or not these scores are statistically significant will be discussed below.

An overall analysis of variance was run with all traits treated as one positive versus negative measure (see Table 2 in Table Appendix). The scores for SE were more positive than for NNE. In addition, there was a trend towards significance in the interaction of speaker sex and student sex. That is, women rated all men speakers appreciably higher than women speakers while men rated women speakers slightly higher than men speakers.

The traits previously identified as related to success and friendship were also subjected to analysis of variance. Again the only significant variable was dialect, with SE rated more favorably than NNE (see Table 3 in Table Appendix).

A separate analysis of variance was done on each of the traits. The F scores appear in TABLE 4. Dialect (Column D) is significant for all traits except knows what's happening. In all but this one case,

TABLE 1

MEAN SCORES* OF HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS RATING TWO DIALECT GUISES

Traits	Male Students				Female Students			
	Male Spkrs		Female Spkrs		Male Spkrs		Female Spkrs	
	NNE	SE	NNE	SE	NNE	SE	NNE	SE
Friendly	4.29	5.42	3.76	5.05	4.39	4.74	3.39	5.10
Honest	3.61	4.71	3.34	5.00	4.08	4.74	3.21	5.00
Unselfish	3.63	4.63	3.37	4.16	4.00	4.50	3.45	4.53
Considerate of others	3.55	4.74	3.34	4.61	3.24	4.29	2.74	4.68
Has ambition	4.32	4.81	3.61	4.50	3.52	4.58	2.74	4.87
Easy going	3.82	4.47	3.66	4.66	3.45	3.37	3.18	4.87
Loyal	3.53	5.05	3.50	4.82	3.97	4.58	2.84	4.55
Has things in common with you	3.79	3.87	3.29	3.89	3.05	2.84	2.37	3.61
Hard working	3.87	4.82	3.21	4.55	3.50	4.61	2.24	4.68
Lucky	4.05	4.79	3.66	4.71	3.68	4.11	3.21	4.55
Knows what's happening	4.05	4.37	4.08	4.15	4.66	3.50	3.82	4.16
Happy	4.21	4.74	4.08	4.82	4.71	4.53	3.74	4.92
Intelligent	3.50	5.26	3.34	5.21	3.32	4.76	2.95	5.29
Good looking	3.66	4.34	3.42	4.37	3.34	3.61	3.26	4.45

* Scores range from 1 to 6; 6 is most favorable.

TABLE 4

F SCORES FROM ANALYSES OF VARIANCE

TRAITS CONSIDERED SEPARATELY

Traits	A Stud. Sex	B Spkr. Sex	D Dia-lect	C(B) Spkr.	AB	AD	BD	AC(B)	DC(B)	ABD	ADC(B)
Friendly			46.33**				5.39*				
Honest			57.32**				5.99*		3.28*		
Unselfish			16.92**								
Considerate of others			50.07**								
Has ambition	4.21*	4.21*	44.09**			6.70*	4.57*				
Easy going	5.49*		16.88**	5.94**			7.03*				
Loyal			60.54**								
Has things in common	9.33**		6.09*	7.67**			8.11**				
Hard-working	4.38*	9.61**	59.34**				5.25*		3.88*		
Lucky	5.90*		35.59**				4.31*				
Knows what's happening				11.52**						4.60*	
Happy			10.33**				5.03*				
Intelligent			101.50**								
Good looking			25.56**	13.75**							
degrees of freedom	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	2	1	2

* $p < .05$
** $p < .01$

SE dialect was rated higher than NNE dialect. The subjects, NNE speakers, even considered SE speakers as having more in common with them than NNE speakers.

In six traits (ambition, easy going, has things in common with you, hard working and lucky), male students gave higher ratings to all speakers than did female students (see column labeled A). Speaker sex was significant for two of those traits, ambition and hard working (see column B), male speakers being rated higher than female speakers. The girls didn't respond favorably to any of the speakers and were particularly critical of female speakers.

In Table 4, speaker (column C(B)) appears to be significant in four traits. However, the analysis does not permit separation of speaker from sex so we cannot determine whether speaker alone is significant.

The interaction of speaker sex and dialect, as shown in column BD in Table 4, is significant for eight traits. In seven of these traits SE received more favorable ratings than NNE. Figure 1 (see Figure Appendix) shows the interaction for friendly; Figure 2 for honest, Figure 3 for ambition, Figure 4 for easy going, Figure 5 for hard working, Figure 6 for lucky, and Figure 7 for happy. In these seven traits the most favorable ratings were given to SE speakers and the least favorable to women NNE speakers.

The eighth trait (Figure 8), have things in common with you, reversed the trend in male speakers. Women speakers of NNE were still rated low (mean 2.83) as compared to women speakers of SE (mean 3.75). Male NNE speakers were rated a bit higher (mean 3.42) than SE speakers

(mean score 3.36). The students' responses indicate that they feel most positively towards women SE speakers, then male NNE speakers, then male SE, and least positively towards women NNE speakers on this trait.

Interaction between student sex and dialect was significant only for the trait ambition (Figure 9). Again SE was rated more favorably than NNE by both male and female subjects. NNE was rated only slightly lower by the male subjects while women subjects rated it much lower. Girls see NNE speakers as much less ambitious than SE speakers.

The interaction between dialect and speaker was significant in two traits, honest and hard working, but only at the .05 level. As with the speaker variable by itself, this cannot be interpreted because speaker is nested within sex and cannot be treated alone.

The raw data as it is laid out in Table 1 is analyzed in Table 4 in the column labeled ABD. There are four cases in the raw data (female students rating male speakers on the traits easy going, has things in common, knows what's happening, happy) where NNE was rated higher than SE. The analysis reveals that the only statistically significant difference is in the trait knows what's happening. The girls think that men speaking NNE know better what's happening than SE speakers. They gave men NNE speakers 4.7 points and male SE speakers 3.5 points, more than one scale point difference.

In summary, the analysis showed that SE speakers are judged more favorably than NNE speakers to an overwhelming degree and on a wide scope of traits.

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DISCUSSION

Why should young people, themselves speakers of NNE, seemingly reject adult speakers of NNE and prefer SE speakers? The most obvious answer in Fanon's terms is that they have been brainwashed, that as members of a colonized group they have taken on the values about culture and language of the dominant society. If the validity of the traits rated is accepted, this answer is given added weight by the fact that male students saw themselves as having more in common with NNE speakers, whom they rated unfavorably, than with SE speakers, rated more favorably. No doubt this answer has some validity but two other explanations must also be considered.

The importance of having traits that correspond to the students' experience can be clearly seen. Though the traits were obtained from a class of high school students roughly equivalent to the students tested, they may well have been the wrong traits. Knows what's happening was a trait that men speakers of SE did not possess in as great a degree as men NNE speakers. Perhaps other traits of this sort would have elicited more favorable responses towards NNE.

Context cannot be ignored. What would the results have been if the traits had been obtained at a community center from students studying Black history? What would they have been if these same students were tested, not at school, but at the Inner City Cultural Center or at a community center in the area?

Whatever our explanations, the fact remains that this group of Black tenth graders in the school context responded to their own language and the dominant language in a fashion that begs response. They and their teachers need to be taught what linguists have

discovered, that Black English (NNE) is a valid and systematic language, and what poets show us, that it is an emminently suitable medium of expression.

Many ideas for further research suggest themselves:

1. Would further studies in other geographic and socioeconomic areas yield the same results?

2. Is age a factor in attitude? Is there a specific age where attitude changes, as Lambert found for French-Canadian school children?

3. Is there a correlation between responses to a study like this and self-identity?

4. Would knowledge about NNE and its uses change students' attitudes?

However, I do not recommend that any of these questions be answered in the near future, particularly if the investigator is white.

The first bidialectal speaker I succeeded in finding is an actor and teacher of acting and is closely involved with young people. His first reqction to me was a ten-minute harangue that these kids have been studied and studied with the only benefit going not to them but to the experimenter; that they didn't need to be studied; that they need to be helped; and that they need to realize that they are first-class citizens, contrary to what their experience up to now has taught them. After the harangue but before I had time to pack up my tape recorder and return to the Ivory Towers, he asked me what I wanted him to do. I told him and he did it.

This man is not alone in his views. Black researchers at Southwest Regional Laboratory (Garcia, Blackwell, Williams & Simpkins, 1969)

presented a paper at the 1969 Western Psychological Association convention in which they gave substantially the same view. They added that much of the research done in the Black community must be done with Blacks involved in research formulation and execution: "Because of the uniqueness of the Black experience, only Blacks can delineate their needs and goals." They also insist that services, application, be an integral part of all research in the Black community.

Joan Costello (1970), who spent four years as a research psychologist in a preschool project on Chicago's Westside, lists some specific questions and suggestions raised by Black communities. Among them are:

> If you want to do research, study white racism or study the institutions which inform our national life and which give rise to the problems of black people in America. We have accepted research just as we have accepted many other things we were powerless to oppose. Your research is concerned with what is "missing." Are you interested in studying and enhancing our strengths?

These guidelines put forth by representatives of the black community are sensible. If research in education is to be constructive, it must be practical, directly applicable, it must be guided by black people, and it must build on strengths rather than just point out weakness.

Unfortunately this study, if it shows anything, shows nothing good. Quite simply "Black is Beautiful" must be expanded to "Black English is Beautiful."

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TABLE 2

OVERALL ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE

TRAITS COMBINED

Source	df	SS	MS	F
Between-Subject				
Student $Sex_{(A)}$	1	123.803	123.803	.560
Student $Sex_{(B)}$	1	.842	.842	.004
A X B	1	362.579	362.579	1.638
$Error_{between}$	72	15938.10	221.363	
Within-Subject				
$Speaker_{(C)}$	2	58.803	29.401	.289
A X C	2	111.803	55.901	.549
$Error_{C}$	72	7338.285	101.921	
$Dialect_{(D)}$	1	12818.010	12818.010	92.185**
A X D	1	52.223	52.223	.376
B X D	1	23.207	23.207	.167
A X B X D	1	111.371	111.371	.801
$Error_{D}$	72	10011.330	139.046	
C X D	2	10.541	5.271	.096
A X C X D	2	224.686	112.343	2.078
$Error_{CD}$	72	3891.752	54.052	

**$p < .01$

TABLE 3

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE

COMBINED TRAITS FOR FRIENDLINESS AND SUCCESS

A. Friendliness

Source	df	SS	MS	F
Between-Subject				
Student $Sex_{(A)}$	1	149.240	149.240	1.239
Speaker $Sex_{(B)}$	1	1.188	1.188	.010
A X B	1	100.740	100.740	.836
$Error_{between}$	72	8674.574	120.480	
Within-Subject				
$Speaker_{(C)}$	2	68.059	34.030	.626
A X C	2	85.217	42.608	.784
$Error_{C}$	72	3914.330	54.336	
$Dialect_{(D)}$	1	5131.582	5131.582	70.581**
A X D	1	1.184	1.184	.016
B X D	1	40.527	40.527	.557
A X B X D	1	43.502	43.502	.598
$Error_{D}$	72	5234.754	72.705	
C X D	2	11.925	5.963	.213
A X C X D	2	99.666	49.833	1.784
$Error_{CD}$	72	2011.551	27.938	

Continued on following page.

Table 3 (continued)

B. Success

Source	df	SS	MS	F
Between-Subject				
Student Sex$_{(A)}$	1	1.188	1.188	.051
Speaker Sex$_{(B)}$	1	4.030	4.030	.173
A X B	1	81.082	81.082	3.480
Error$_{between}$	72	1677.408	23.297	
Within-Subject				
Speaker$_{(C)}$	2	7.770	3.885	.262
A X C	2	13.086	6.543	.441
Error$_{C}$	72	1067.356	14.824	
Dialect$_{(D)}$	1	1729.030	1729.030	89.667**
A X D	1	37.661	37.661	1.953
B X D	1	2.398	2.398	.124
A X B X D	1	15.661	15.661	.812
Error$_{D}$	72	1388.357	19.283	
C X D	2	.086	.043	.004
A X C X D	2	25.882	12.911	1.263
Error$_{CD}$	72	736.106	10.224	

**$p < .01$

TABLE 5

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE - FRIENDLY

Source	df	SS	MS	F
Between-subject				
Student Sex(A)	1	3.803	3.803	1.090
Speaker Sex(B)	1	11.065	11.065	3.172
A X B	1	.329	.329	.094
$Error_{between}$	72	251.180	3.489	
Within-subject				
Speaker(C)	2	5.263	2.632	1.584
A X C	2	6.579	3.289	1.979
$Error_{C}$	72	119.653	1.662	
Dialect(D)	1	95.066	95.066	46.326**
A X D	1	.645	.645	.314
B X D	1	11.066	11.066	5.392*
A X B X D	1	6.961	6.961	3.392
$Error_{D}$	72	147.753	2.052	
C X D	2	2.632	1.316	1.002
A X C X D	2	1.316	.658	.501
$Error_{CD}$	72	94.521	1.313	

* $p < .05$
** $p < .01$

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TABLE 6

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE - HONEST

Source	df	SS	MS	F
Between-subject				
Student Sex$_{(A)}$	1	.645	.645	.192
Speaker Sex$_{(B)}$	1	1.592	1.592	.474
A X B	1	1.895	1.895	.564
Error$_{between}$	72	241.891	3.600	
Within-subject				
Speaker(C)	2	4.803	2.401	1.747
A X C	2	2.698	1.349	.981
Error$_{C}$	72	98.994	1.375	
Dialect	1	128.961	128.961	57.320**
A X D	1	.474	.474	.211
B X D	1	13.474	13.474	5.989*
A X B X D	1	1.592	1.592	.707
Error$_{D}$	72	161.989	2.250	
C X D	2	8.434	4.217	3.277*
A X C X D	2	2.382	1.191	.925
Error$_{CD}$	72	92.657	1.287	

* $p < .05$
** $p < .01$

TABLE 7

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE - UNSELFISH

Source	df	SS	MS	F
Between-subject				
Student Sex$_{(A)}$	1	2.224	2.224	.891
Speaker Sex$_{(B)}$	1	7.579	7.579	3.037
A X B	1	.211	.211	.084
Error$_{between}$	72	179.655	2.495	
Within-subject				
Speaker$_{(C)}$	2	3.012	1.507	.855
A X C	2	.066	.033	.019
Error$_{C}$	72	126.915	1.763	
Dialect$_{(D)}$	1	53.895	53.895	16.924**
A X D	1	.211	.211	.066
B X D	1	.645	.645	.203
A X B X D	1	2.961	2.961	.930
Error$_{D}$	72	229.280	3.184	
C X D	2	.803	.401	.196
A X C X D	2	.803	.401	.196
Error$_{CD}$	72	147.369	2.047	

** $p < .01$

TABLE 8

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE - CONSIDERATE OF OTHERS

Source	df	SS	MS	F
Between-subject				
Student Sex(A)	1	7.898	7.898	2.837
Speaker Sex(B)	1	.951	.951	.341
A X B	1	.266	.266	.096
Error between	72	200.470	2.784	
Within-subject				
Speaker(C)	2	9.980	4.990	2.470
A X C	2	.296	.148	.073
Error C	72	145.467	2.020	
Dialect(D)	1	140.951	140.951	50.073**
A X D	1	1.451	1.451	.515
B X D	1	4.503	4.503	1.600
A X B X D	1	3.161	3.161	1.123
Error D	72	202.675	2.815	
C X D	2	.533	.266	.136
A X C X D	2	.586	.293	.150
Error D	72	140.603	1.953	

** $p < .01$

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TABLE 9

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE - AMBITION

Source	df	SS	MS	F
Between-subject				
Student Sex$_{(A)}$	1	11.066	11.066	4.209*
Speaker Sex$_{(B)}$	1	11.066	11.066	4.209*
A X B	1	1.316	1.316	.501
Error$_{between}$	72	189.286	2.629	
Within-subject				
Speaker$_{(C)}$	2	9.539	4.770	2.293
A X C	2	2.697	1.349	.648
Error$_{C}$	72	149.757	2.080	
Dialect$_{D}$	1	99.592	99.592	44.087**
A X D	1	15.211	15.211	6.733*
B X D	1	10.316	10.316	4.567*
A X B X D	1	2.224	2.224	.984
Error$_{D}$	72	162.648	2.259	
C X D	2	9.539	4.770	2.286
A X C X D	2	3.171	1.586	.760
Error$_{CD}$	72	150.260	2.087	

* $p < .05$
** $p < .01$

TABLE 10

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE - EASY GOING

Source	df	SS	MS	F
Between-subject				
Student $Sex_{(A)}$	1	14.329	14.329	5.493*
Speaker $Sex_{(B)}$	1	7.579	7.579	2.906
A X B	1	6.961	6.961	2.668
$Error_{between}$	72	187.813	2.609	
Within-subject				
$Speaker_{(C)}$	2	25.816	12.908	5.939**
A X C	2	4.684	2.342	1.078
$Error_{C}$	72	156.493	2.174	
$Dialect_{(D)}$	1	50.579	50.579	16.880**
A X D	1	.013	.013	.004
B X D	1	21.053	21.053	7.026*
A X B X D	1	9.592	9.592	3.201
$Error_{D}$	72	215.753	2.997	
C X D	2	7.079	3.539	1.767
A X C X D	2	.684	.342	.171
$Error_{CD}$	72	144.206	2.003	

* $p < .05$
** $p < .01$

TABLE 11

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE - LOYAL

Source	df	SS	MS	F
Between-subject				
Student Sex(A)	1	4.263	4.263	1.469
Speaker Sex(B)	1	9.592	9.592	3.305
A X B	1	3.803	3.803	1.310
Error between	72	208.971	2.902	
Within-subject				
Speaker(C)	2	6.961	3.480	2.711
A X C	2	.592	.296	.231
Error C	72	92.443	1.284	
Dialect(D)	1	126.368	126.368	60.544**
A X D	1	1.316	1.316	.630
B X D	1	3.803	3.803	1.822
A X B X D	1	8.224	8.224	3.940
Error D	72	150.280	2.087	
C X D	2	.013	.007	.006
A X C X D	2	.224	.112	.094
Error CD	72	85.737	1.191	

** p < .01

TABLE 12

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE - HAS THINGS IN COMMON

Source	df	SS	MS	F
Between-subject				
Student Sex$_{(A)}$	1	42.003	42.003	9.330**
Speaker Sex$_{(B)}$	1	.740	.740	.164
A X B	1	1.451	1.451	.322
Error$_{between}$	72	324.154	4.502	
Within-subject				
Speaker$_{(C)}$	2	38.059	19.030	7.668*
A X C	2	9.507	4.753	1.915
Error$_{C}$	72	178.677	2.482	
Dialect$_{(D)}$	1	13.898	13.898	6.092
A X D	1	.556	.556	.244
B X D	1	18.503	18.503	8.111**
A X B X D	1	4.030	4.030	1.766
Error$_{D}$	72	164.253	2.281	
C X D	2	2.138	1.069	.487
A X C X D	2	3.954	1.977	.900
Error$_{CD}$	72	158.126	2.196	

* $p < .05$
** $p < .01$

TABLE 13

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE - HARD-WORKING

Source	df	SS	MS	F
Between-subject				
Student Sex$_{(A)}$	1	9.592	9.592	4.379*
Speaker Sex$_{(B)}$	1	21.053	21.053	9.611**
A X B	1	.329	.329	.150
Error$_{between}$	72	157.707	2.190	
Within-subject				
Speaker$_{(C)}$	2	.132	.066	.030
A X C	2	9.105	4.553	2.105
Error$_{C}$	72	155.758	2.163	
Dialect$_{(D)}$	1	162.118	162.118	59.342**
A X D	1	7.579	7.579	2.774
B X D	1	14.329	14.329	5.254*
A X B X D	1	4.263	4.263	1.561
Error$_{D}$	72	196.700	2.732	
C X D	2	10.158	5.079	3.882*
A X C X D	2	1.605	.803	.613
Error$_{CD}$	72	94.211	1.308	

* $p < .05$
** $p < .01$

TABLE 14

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE - LUCKY

Source	df	SS	MS	F
Between-subject				
Student $Sex_{(A)}$	1	13.056	13.056	5.902*
Speaker $Sex_{(B)}$	1	1.188	1.188	.537
A X B	1	.951	.951	.430
$Error_{between}$	72	159.286	2.212	
Within-subject				
$Speaker_{(C)}$	2	7.296	3.648	2.094
A X C	2	3.507	1.753	1.006
$Error_{C}$	72	125.443	1.742	
$Dialect_{(D)}$	1	59.951	59.951	35.591**
A X D	1	.003	.003	.002
B X D	1	7.266	7.266	4.314
A X B X D	1	1.740	1.740	1.033
$Error_{D}$	72	121.281	1.684	
C X D	2	3.191	1.595	1.140
A X C X D	2	3.243	1.622	1.159
$Error_{CD}$	72	100.791	1.400	

* $p < .05$
** $p < .01$

TABLE 15

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE - KNOWS WHAT'S HAPPENING

Source	df	SS	MS	F
Between-subject				
Student Sex$_{(A)}$	1	1.316	1.316	.303
Speaker Sex$_{(B)}$	1	.645	.645	.148
A X B	1	.000	.000	.000
Error$_{between}$	72	313.075	4.348	
Within-subject				
Speaker$_{(C)}$	2	54.237	27.118	11.523**
A X C	2	1.316	.658	.280
Error$_{C}$	72	169.439	2.353	
Dialect$_{(D)}$	1	.842	.842	.270
A X D	1	6.961	6.961	2.235
B X D	1	7.579	7.579	2.433
A X B X D	1	14.329	14.329	4.600*
Error$_{D}$	72	224.278	3.115	
C X D	2	7.158	3.579	1.901
A X C X D	2	2.237	1.118	.594
Error$_{CD}$	72	135.572	1.883	

* $p < .05$
** $p < .01$

TABLE 16

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE - HAPPY

Source	df	SS	MS	F
Between-subject				
Student Sex$_{(A)}$	1	.013	.013	.006
Speaker Sex$_{(B)}$	1	1.895	1.895	.842
A X B	1	1.316	1.316	.585
Error$_{between}$	72	161.945	2.249	
Within-subject				
Speaker$_{(C)}$	2	7.118	3.560	2.152
A X C	2	1.276	.638	.386
Error$_{C}$	72	119.100	1.654	
Dialect$_{(D)}$	1	24.329	24.329	10.327**
A X D	1	.329	.329	.140
B X D	1	11.842	11.842	5.027*
A X B X D	1	6.368	6.368	2.703
Error$_{D}$	72	169.623	2.368	
C X D	2	1.645	.822	.757
A X C X D	2	.592	.296	.272
Error$_{CD}$	72	78.238	1.087	

* $p < .05$
** $p < .01$

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TABLE 17

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE - INTELLIGENT

Source	df	SS	MS	F
Between-subject				
Student $Sex_{(A)}$	1	4.750	4.750	1.629
Speaker $Sex_{(B)}$	1	.013	.013	.005
A X B	1	.645	.645	.221
$Error_{between}$	72	209.944	2.916	
Within-subject				
$Speaker_{(C)}$	2	7.684	3.842	2.619
A X C	2	.684	.342	.233
$Error_{C}$	72	105.627	1.467	
Dialect	1	261.592	261.592	101.498**
A X D	1	.118	.118	.046
B X D	1	4.750	4.750	1.843
A X B X D	1	2.960	2.960	1.149
$Error_{D}$	72	185.567	2.577	
C X D	2	1.316	.658	.503
A X C X D	2	5.474	2.737	2.092
$Error_{CD}$	72	94.181	1.308	

** $p < .01$

TABLE 18

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE - GOOD LOOKING

Source	df	SS	MS	F
Between-subject				
Student Sex$_{(A)}$	1	6.082	6.082	1.838
Speaker Sex$_{(B)}$	1	1.451	1.451	.438
A X B	1	4.503	4.503	1.361
Error$_{between}$	72	238.260	3.309	
Within-subject				
Speaker$_{(C)}$	2	51.743	25.872	13.745**
A X C	2	5.480	2.740	1.456
Error$_{C}$	72	135.520	1.882	
Dialect$_{(D)}$	1	45.030	45.030	25.562**
A X D	1	.161	.161	.092
B X D	1	6.661	6.661	3.781
A X B X D	1	2.056	2.056	1.167
Error$_{D}$	72	126.834	1.762	
C X D	2	3.849	1.924	1.928
A X C X D	2	2.007	1.003	1.005
Error$_{CD}$	72	71.868	.998	

** $p < .01$

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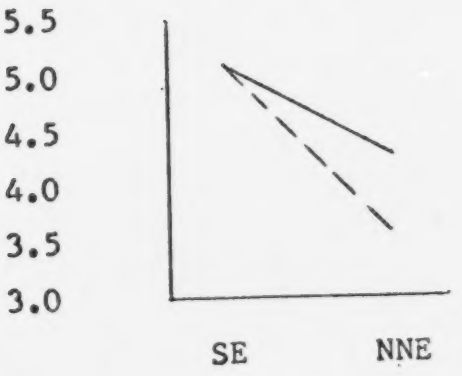
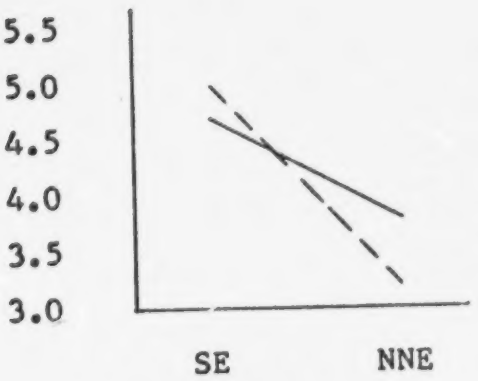
INTERACTION FIGURES



—— = Male Speaker
— — = Female Speaker

Figure 1 - B X D Interaction

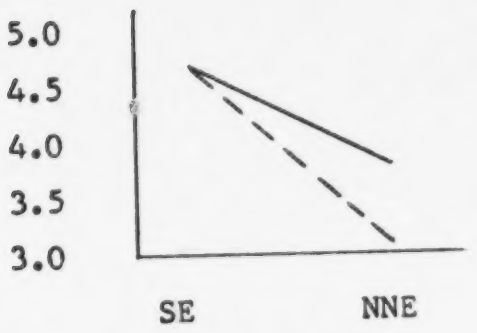
Friendly - Unfriendly



—— Male Speaker
— — Female Speaker

Figure 2 - B X D Interaction

Honest - Not honest



—— Male Speaker
— — Female Speaker

Figure 3 - B X D Interaction

Has ambition - No ambition

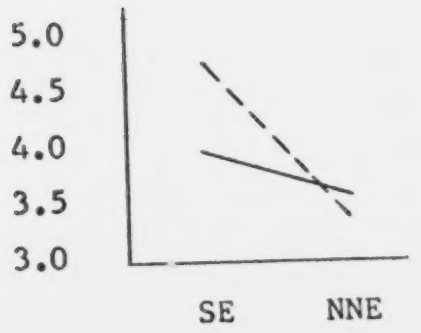


Figure 4 - B X D Interaction

Easy going - not easy going

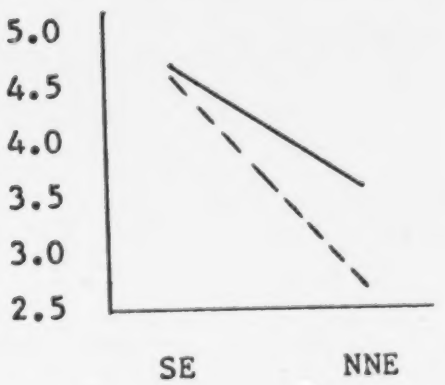


Figure 5 - B X D Interaction

Hard working - Lazy

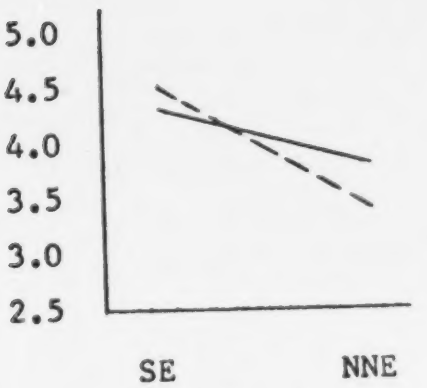


Figure 6 - B X D Interaction

Lucky - Unlucky

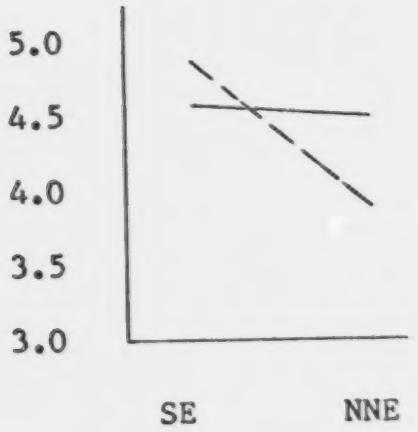


Figure 7 - B X D Interaction

Happy - Unhappy

—— Male Speaker
—— Female Speaker

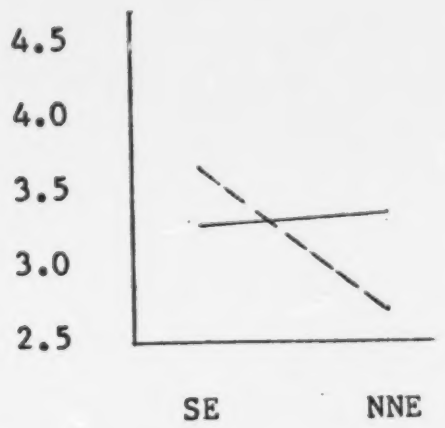


Figure 8 - B X D Interaction

Has things in common with you - Does not have things in common with you

—— Male Speaker
—— Female Speaker

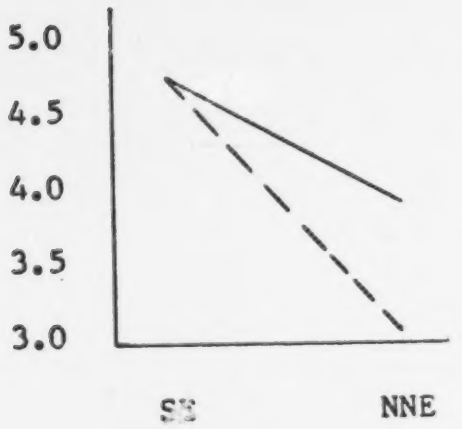


Figure 9 - A X D Interaction

Has ambition - No ambition

Male Subjects ——
Female Subjects ——

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COVER STORY USED IN ELICITING TRAITS FOR THE RATING SCALE

Before the sample group of students were asked to give their ideas of traits important in friendship and success, they were told my "reasons" for asking such questions of them. First I introduced myself as a graduate student at UCLA and as a person interested in language learning and language teaching. I asked them what makes a person a good foreign language student. After a brief discussion, I introduced the concept of attitude as an important and as yet overlooked factor in language learning. Then I described a proposed experiment, of which this study was a first step, in which two groups of foreign language students would be given information that should affect their attitude towards speakers of that language. One group would be given unfavorable information, the other favorable; both sets of information being related to success and friendship. Hence the purpose of this study was to find out what traits high school students think of as important in success and friendship. The students were then asked to complete the following form.

FORM USED IN DEVELOPING RATING SCALE

Age _____ M_____ F_____ Race _____

1. What are some things you like about people you <u>really</u> like?

2. What are some things you don't like about people you can't stand?

3. What things make a man successful?

4. What makes a woman successful?

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In the columns on the right give <u>three</u> ideas, words, etc. which you associate with each of the personality traits listed.

Ambition	_____	_____	_____
Attractiveness	_____	_____	_____
Character	_____	_____	_____
Dependable	_____	_____	_____
Determination	_____	_____	_____
Education	_____	_____	_____
Faith in God	_____	_____	_____
Friendly	_____	_____	_____
Good Disposition	_____	_____	_____
Hardworking	_____	_____	_____
Honesty	_____	_____	_____
Inconsiderate	_____	_____	_____
Personality	_____	_____	_____
Sociable	_____	_____	_____
Special Skills	_____	_____	_____
Speech Ability	_____	_____	_____
Trustworthy	_____	_____	_____
Upbringing	_____	_____	_____
Untrustworthy	_____	_____	_____

Rank, in order of importance, the five items in the preceding list which you consider most important in choosing a friend.

1.

2.

3.

4.

5.

Rank, in order of importance, the five items in the list which you consider most important for success.

1.

2.

3.

4.

5.

BIDIALECTAL SPEAKERS

Finding them:

Three months were expended in searching for the first bidialectal speaker. Finally an actor was located and taped. The remaining speakers were much easier to find. The reason seemed to be that people didn't understand our explanation of what was wanted, which used words like dialect, Black English, White English, etc. Listening to the actor's voice in the two dialects solved all problems of explanation.

Examples of contrasting forms used by the speakers:

NNE	SE
Syntactic Differences:	
You be right out there	You'll be right out there
When they be playing football	When they play football
We won't get hardly no points	We won't get many points
The team they gotta go into a huddle	The team has to go into a huddle
They face	Their faces
They bodies	Their bodies
Phonological Differences:	
swif	swift
fas	fast
nex	next
da	the

STANDARD ENGLISH VERSION OF PASSAGE SPOKEN BY SPEAKERS

Football is a team sport played by men and boys and sometimes girls. Boys play it in school while men play it professionally as a career.

Football is a rough sport with a lot of body contact. Players wear pads to protect their thighs, shoulders and kidneys. They also wear helmets with face guards. Injuries occur but they would be much more serious if the players were not in such excellent physical condition.

Before each play the team in possession of the ball goes into a huddle and the quarterback tells the players what play they will use next. These plays are practiced in training sessions. Each man has a special pattern that he follows in every play.

Football is a fast-moving game. Players must be strong, intelligent and quick. The speed of the game and the skill of the players make it an exciting sport to watch as well as play.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR SUBJECTS EVALUATING SPEAKERS

1. Pass out rating sheets.

2. Many people believe that you can tell what kind of personality a person has by voice characteristics alone. When we talk to someone we don't know on the telephone or when we listen to someone on the radio--like the DJ's on KGFJ--we try to figure out what kind of person it is by the way they talk. It's something like the show "Dating Game." I want to find out if it is true that we can judge personality by the way a person talks; so I am asking you to help me do this Personality Evaluation Experiment.

3. You will hear seven (7) voices on the tape recorder. The speakers are all Black. The first voice doesn't count; it's for practice. There are seven rating sheets, one for each speaker. Right now fill in the information asked for at the top of the first page. Fill in teacher, class period and your age. Check Male or Female. Because your cultural background is important, check Mexican American, Afro-American, or Caucasian.

As you listen to each voice, listen only for voice quality and ignore what the speaker says and how he says it. Several speech styles have been included. As soon as you get an idea about the speaker, begin filling in the sheet for that speaker. The speeches are all short, about one minute. There will be one minute after hearing the voice for you to complete the rating sheet for that speaker. Be sure to rate ALL qualities. If you can't decide, check

it the best you can anyway. After the practice speaker is done we will not stop; beginning with Speaker 1, the tape recorder will play continuously through Speaker 6. As soon as you are done rating a speaker, turn the page and prepare to rate the next speaker.

After the practice speaker, I will stop the tape recorder and discuss any questions you have about filling out the rating sheets, but that is the only time I will stop the tape recorder.

4. Some of the rating sheets are difficult to read, but you can read them if you try. The rating sheets have qualities arranged on them like this: (PUT THIS ON THE BAORD)

kind ____:____:____:____:____:____cruel

You can rate the speaker as extremely kind by placing an X here, or quite kind by placing an X here, or slightly kind by placing an X here, or slightly cruel by placing an X here, or quite cruel by placing an X here, or extremely cruel by placing an X here (ILLUSTRATE ON THE BOARD).

5. Now let's look at the qualities and rate the Practice Voice. (READ THE ENTIRE LIST OF TRAITS FOR THE PRACTICE SPEAKER.)

Rating Sheets Used By
Subjects in Evaluating Speakers

PERSONALITY EVALUATION EXPERIMENT

Teacher _____

Period _____

Age _____ Male _____ Female _____

Mexican American _____
Afro-American _____
Caucasian _____

Practice Speaker

How does this speaker sound to you?

Unselfish	___:___:___:___:___:___	Selfish
Friendly	___:___:___:___:___:___	Unfriendly
Not honest	___:___:___:___:___:___	Honest
Has ambition	___:___:___:___:___:___	No ambition
Not considerate of others	___:___:___:___:___:___	Considerate of others
Does not have things in common with you	___:___:___:___:___:___	Has things in common with you
Loyal	___:___:___:___:___:___	Not loyal
Not easy going	___:___:___:___:___:___	Easy going
Unhappy	___:___:___:___:___:___	Happy
Does not know what's happening	___:___:___:___:___:___	Knows what's happening
Lucky	___:___:___:___:___:___	Unlucky
Hard working	___:___:___:___:___:___	Lazy
Good looking	___:___:___:___:___:___	Not good looking
Stupid	___:___:___:___:___:___	Intelligent

Speaker 1

How does this speaker sound to you?

friendly	___:___:___:___:___:___	unfriendly
not honest	___:___:___:___:___:___	honest
unselfish	___:___:___:___:___:___	selfish
not considerate of others	___:___:___:___:___:___	considerate of other
has ambition	___:___:___:___:___:___	no ambition
not easy going	___:___:___:___:___:___	easy going
loyal	___:___:___:___:___:___	not loyal
does not have things in common with you	___:___:___:___:___:___	has things in common with you
hard working	___:___:___:___:___:___	lazy
lucky	___:___:___:___:___:___	unlucky
does not know what's happening	___:___:___:___:___:___	knows what's happening
unhappy	___:___:___:___:___:___	happy
stupid	___:___:___:___:___:___	intelligent
good looking	___:___:___:___:___:___	not good looking

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Speaker 2

How does this speaker sound to you?

lucky	___:___:___:___:___:___	unlucky
hard working	___:___:___:___:___:___	lazy
does not have things in common with you	___:___:___:___:___:___	has things in common with you
loyal	___:___:___:___:___:___	not loyal
not easy going	___:___:___:___:___:___	easy going
has ambition	___:___:___:___:___:___	no ambition
not considerate of others	___:___:___:___:___:___	considerate of others
unselfish	___:___:___:___:___:___	selfish
not honest	___:___:___:___:___:___	honest
friendly	___:___:___:___:___:___	unfriendly
good looking	___:___:___:___:___:___	not good looking
stupid	___:___:___:___:___:___	intelligent
unhappy	___:___:___:___:___:___	happy
does not know what's happening	___:___:___:___:___:___	knows what's happening

Speaker 3

How does this speaker sound to you?

good looking	___:___:___:___:___:___	not good looking
stupid	___:___:___:___:___:___	intelligent
unhappy	___:___:___:___:___:___	happy
does not know what's happening	___:___:___:___:___:___	knows what's happening
lucky	___:___:___:___:___:___	unlucky
hard working	___:___:___:___:___:___	lazy
does not have things in common with you	___:___:___:___:___:___	has things in common with you
loyal	___:___:___:___:___:___	not loyal
not easy going	___:___:___:___:___:___	easy going
has ambition	___:___:___:___:___:___	no ambition
not considerate of others	___:___:___:___:___:___	considerate of others
unselfish	___:___:___:___:___:___	selfish
not honest	___:___:___:___:___:___	honest
friendly	___:___:___:___:___:___	unfriendly

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Speaker 4

How does this speaker sound to you?

has ambition	___:___:___:___:___:___	no ambition
not considerate of others	___:___:___:___:___:___	considerate of others
good looking	___:___:___:___:___:___	not good looking
hard working	___:___:___:___:___:___	lazy
not honest	___:___:___:___:___:___	honest
does not have things in common with you	___:___:___:___:___:___	has things in common with you
loyal	___:___:___:___:___:___	not loyal
stupid	___:___:___:___:___:___	intelligent
unselfish	___:___:___:___:___:___	selfish
does not know what's happening	___:___:___:___:___:___	knows what's happening
not easy going	___:___:___:___:___:___	easy going
unhappy	___:___:___:___:___:___	happy
friendly	___:___:___:___:___:___	unfriendly
lucky	___:___:___:___:___:___	unlucky

Speaker 5

How does this speaker sound to you?

lucky	___:___:___:___:___:___	unlucky
friendly	___:___:___:___:___:___	unfriendly
unhappy	___:___:___:___:___:___	happy
not easy going	___:___:___:___:___:___	easy going
does not know what's happening	___:___:___:___:___:___	knows what's happening
unselfish	___:___:___:___:___:___	selfish
stupid	___:___:___:___:___:___	intelligent
loyal	___:___:___:___:___:___	not loyal
does not have things in common with you	___:___:___:___:___:___	has things in common with you
not honest	___:___:___:___:___:___	honest
hard working	___:___:___:___:___:___	lazy
good looking	___:___:___:___:___:___	not good looking
not considerate of others	___:___:___:___:___:___	considerate of others
has ambition	___:___:___:___:___:___	no ambition

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Speaker 6

How does this speaker sound to you?

does not have things in common with you	___:___:___:___:___:___	has things in common with you
loyal	___:___:___:___:___:___	not loyal
hard working	___:___:___:___:___:___	lazy
not easy going	___:___:___:___:___:___	easy going
lucky	___:___:___:___:___:___	not lucky
has ambition	___:___:___:___:___:___	no ambition
does not know what's happening	___:___:___:___:___:___	knows what's happening
not considerate of others	___:___:___:___:___:___	considerate of others
unhappy	___:___:___:___:___:___	happy
unselfish	___:___:___:___:___:___	selfish
stupid	___:___:___:___:___:___	intelligent
not honest	___:___:___:___:___:___	honest
good looking	___:___:___:___:___:___	not good looking
friendly	___:___:___:___:___:___	unfriendly

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